

Radical Abolitionist.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."—LEV. XXV. 10.

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The Radical Abolitionist.

WILLIAM GOODELL, Editor.

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PROSPECTUS.

The "RADICAL ABOLITIONIST" proposes a proclamation of "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." It demands of the *American Government* and the *American People*, the immediate and unconditional abolition of *American Slavery*.

It makes this demand on behalf of three millions of Americans already enslaved, on behalf of twenty millions more in process of becoming enslaved, and in behalf of the untold millions of their posterity, who must be enslaved for ages to come, unless American Slavery be overthrown.

It urges this demand in the name of humanity chattelized, republicanism disgraced, religion dishonored, the Holy Scriptures perverted, the Saviour blasphemed, the laws of nature and of nature's God trampled under foot.

It denies that the Federal Government, under the Federal Constitution, has either a moral or a political right to tolerate slavery, in any of the States belonging to the Federal Union, for a single day.

"The United States SHALL guarantee to EVERY State in the Union a republican form of government."—*Constitution*.

"The foundation of republican government is the right of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management."—*Jefferson*.

It denies that "the reserved rights of the States" include any such right as that of holding property in man, as no such "right" can exist; and Mr. Madison tells us that the Federal Convention would not permit the Constitution to recognize any such right.—*Vide Madison Papers*.

It affirms that the Constitution unequivocally inhibits the States from maintaining slavery.

"No State shall pass any bill of attainder, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts." And "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."—*Constitution*.

It affirms that the Constitution was formed by "the people of the United States," (all of them,) "to secure the blessings of LIBERTY for (themselves) and (their) posterity," without exception or distinction of race or color. And hence, no portion of "the people of the United States" can be constitutionally enslaved, and the declared object of the Constitution requires the Federal Government to "secure the blessings of liberty" to each and all of them.

If the Constitution is not available for these purposes, it is of no practical value, it is condemned by its own high professions, and the people have no alternative left them but to provide a better government for their protection, or become the serfs of the petty oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders, who are now suffered to control and insult a great nation.

The 'RADICAL ABOLITIONIST' recognizes as valid law no unrighteous enactments. It affirms, with all the great writers on Common Law, "that statutes against fundamental morality are void;" that "no human laws have any validity if contrary to the law of God, and such of them as are valid derive all their force, mediately, or immediately, from this original."—*FORTESCUE*.

On this ground, as well as from the admitted absence of any positive law in this country, establishing slavery; from the known incompetency of the colonial legislatures under British common law, to legalize it; from the ascertained illegality of the African slave trade, by which the colonies were supplied with slaves; and from the unanimous declaration of the thirteen original States, in the very act of establishing their independent governments, that all just governments "are founded on the 'inalienable right' of 'all men' to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,'" we affirm the absolute illegality of American slavery. We deny that it has any more legality in Georgia than in Massachusetts; that it is any more legal than the African slave-trade, or any other form of piracy and crime.

The object of this paper will be to unfold, explain, vindicate, and propagate these sentiments, calling on the people to maintain them at the ballot-box, thus providing for a federal legislature, a federal judiciary and a federal executive, that shall give them a national expression and force.

CONVENTION AT BOSTON.

ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

Agreeably to the Notice previously published, a Convention of Radical Political Abolitionists was held at Boston, on the 23d, 24th, and 25th of October; in pursuance of a vote of the similar Convention at Syracuse, last June.

From some cause, unexplained, the "Minutes" have failed to reach us. We are not certain that we could spare room for them if we had them. But the most important papers of the Convention will be found in our present number.—An

AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY

was organized. We give the two Series of Propositions and the Resolutions adopted by the Convention, and the Constitution of the Society, together with the names of the Officers, and Executive Committee.

PROPOSITIONS.

FIRST SERIES—OF THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

1. It is as important to understand the legal tenure of slavery, (or the relation of slavery to law) as it is to understand how slavery and the claims of slave-holders ought to be treated by citizens, by magistrates, by judges, by jurors, by Legislative bodies, and by the Executive administrators of the State and National Governments.

2. The relation of slavery to law must be understood, in order to understand the relations of slavery to our State and National Governments, our State and National Constitutions—and consequently, in order to understand the responsibilities of voters; and the measures to be employed for the overthrow of slavery.

3. Slaveholding, being itself a crime, a violation of law—a practical abrogation of the restraints of law upon slaveholders, and of the protection of law for slaves;—a substitution of private, irresponsible despotism for the public administration of equal justice, it is self-evident that such a practice, comprising the very essence of lawlessness, can never, by any conceivable process, become legal.

4. All the time-honored definitions of law laid down by eminent jurists and writers on Common Law, from the times of Moses, Justinian, and Cicero—down, through the times of Fortescue and Lyttelton, of Vattel and Blackstone—to the times of Keat and Story, bear witness to the inherent lawlessness of slavery, and the impossibility of legalizing the practice of slaveholding.

5. It is an admitted fact that slavery is contrary to natural or Common law; and it is equally undeniable that natural or Common law, being the basis of all law, is of paramount authority over all legislative enactments and judicial decisions—so that neither of these, nor both of them combined, can ever make slavery legal.

6. By those who maintain the legality of American slavery, it has always until very recently, been held that its legality rests, not upon natural or Common law, but solely upon positive, municipal, statute law, and on this ground the Courts in slave States have liberated slaves who had, by the consent of their masters, been carried beyond the jurisdiction of the local laws under which they were held.

7. But we now have the united testimony of the most eminent among slave-holding and pro-slavery jurists and statesmen, that there are no local, municipal, positive laws establishing slavery, in any one of these States.—And this amounts to a confession that there is no legalized slavery in any of these States.

8. The whole history of the African slave trade and of the introduction of slavery into Great Britain and her American colonies, confirms and illustrates the statement that the slavery existing in this country has no foundation in any local, municipal, positive, statute law.

9. The African slave trade was never legalized. Though connived at, and even participated in, by persons in high stations—and though negroes were taken from Africa under authority of Royal Grants and Acts of Parliament, yet those permissions were always conditioned on the taking of them with their own free consent, without "fraud, force, or violence." So that the slave trade, as actually carried on, was always in violation of positive law.

10. As the slave traders had no legal title to their slaves, they could convey none to the pur-

chasers of them, nor could these first purchasers convey any to second purchasers or to heirs; and hence there is no legal title to any slaves in America, even if it were possible (as it is not) for man to hold property in man.

11. When slaves were first introduced into Great Britain and her American colonies, there were no positive laws or statutes, either in the Mother Country or in her colonies, by which their enslavement was authorized, or even pretended to be. Slavery was introduced and obtained foot-hold (as it is now doing in Kansas,) in the absence of any statutes on the subject.

12. In all the subsequent colonial and state legislation concerning slavery, the *previous* existence of slavery has been assumed, or taken for granted; and though there has been much legislation to regulate and protect slavery, there has been none to originate or create slavery.—So that there is no slavery existing in the country, in virtue of positive law.

13. If there had been Acts of Parliament authorizing the slave-trade, they would have been null and void, because contrary to the British Constitution and the English Common law.

14. If there had been colonial legislation, designed and precisely adapted, in its language, to legalize slavery, such legislation would have been null and void for the same reason.

15. In the decision, by Lord Mansfield, liberating the slave James Somerset, in 1772, it was decided that slavery was contrary to the British Constitution and to the Common Law of England.

16. That decision, in the Somerset case, four years before our Declaration of Independence, was as authoritative in these then British colonies as it was in Great Britain—and on this ground, Granville Sharpe, who had obtained that decision, memorialized Lord North, urging him to wield the executive powers of his office, for the suppression of colonial slavery.

17. It is thus historically and judicially certain that up to the time of our Declaration of Independence there was no legalized slavery in these colonies.—And if there had been, that solemn act of “the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled,” would have been equivalent to its abolition.

18. The Constitutions of all the original States that adopted Constitutions soon after the Declaration of Independence (being nearly all of those States,) contained bills of rights or declarations of principles, in accordance with those of the Declaration of Independence, and equally incompatible with the idea of legalized slavery.—The States that formed no Constitutions legislated still under their old colonial charters, and consequently under Common Law.

19. It was judicially decided in Massachusetts, at an early date, either on the ground of Natural Right, Common Law, the decision of the Somerset case, the Declaration of Independence, or the corresponding Massachusetts Constitution and Bill of Rights, that there was no legalized slavery in that Commonwealth.

20. A corresponding judicial decision, on similar or identical grounds, *should* have been made, at that early date, in each and every State in the Union. The ascertained illegality of slavery in Massachusetts, is evidence of its illegality in the other States.

21. It has never been claimed that the Old Articles of Confederation, in 1778, legalized slavery, or contained any “compromises” with it, or “recognitions” of its legality.

22. It is hence historically certain that up to the time when the Federal Constitution was adopted, there was no legislation in this country by which slavery could have been legalized, even if such legalization could have been possible.

23. All forms and theories of civil government, and of the functions of civil rulers—as well as all definitions of law—in all civilized communities, in all nations and ages, preclude the idea of legalizing slavery.—Especially is this true of all Constitutional Governments, limited Governments, Republics, Democracies, and Commonwealths.

24. It is not pretended that the Constitution of 1787–9 legalized slavery, or gave it any legal validity which it did not possess before.—Nor is it pretended that since the date of the Constitution, the States have created slavery, or given it any additional legal force.

25. Slavery, therefore, has no more legality than murder, theft, and arson. It has no more claim to be called an “institution”—or “an institution of the country”—than has robbery, rape, adultery, assault and battery, shop-lifting, or sheep-stealing.

SECOND SERIES—OF THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY.

1. Slavery, being illegal, is unconstitutional of course.—Nothing can be constitutional that is illegal.

2. There could have been no valid “recognition” of slavery or “compromise” with it, in the Constitution, because there was no legalized slavery in the country to be the subject of such recognition or compromise.

3. Slavery is unconstitutional because it is directly in violation of the Declaration of Independence, “the first act of our nation,” which, (in the words of the late John C. Spencer) “being a solemn recognition of the liberty and equality of ALL MEN, and that the right to liberty and happiness are inalienable—was the corner stone of our Confederacy, and is *above all Constitutions and all laws.*”

4. Slavery is unconstitutional because it is directly in conflict with the DECLARED OBJECTS of the Constitution, as set forth in its preamble, viz.—“to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

5. Slavery is unconstitutional because antagonistic—not only to the declared objects—but to the manifest spirit, general structure, and leading provisions of the instrument, which all favor human liberty, and provide safeguards for its preservation, without any invidious exceptions or distinctions of race or color, and without any mention either of slavery or slaves.

6. Slavery is unconstitutional, because it cannot exist, but in direct violation of express and fundamental constitutional provisions and prohibitions.

7. The Constitution forbids slavery by declaring that “no person shall be deprived of lib-

erty without due process of law,” and that “the right of the people to be secure in their persons”—“shall not be violated.”

8. The Constitution forbids the States to maintain slavery, by declaring that “No State shall pass any bills of attainder, or ex post facto law, or laws impairing the obligations of contracts”—“nor grant any title of nobility.”

9. The Constitution provides for the liberation of all slaves, by declaring that “the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended in time of peace.”—“This is the writ that made slavery impossible in England.”

10. The Federal Government has power to abolish slavery—because it has power to “secure the blessings of liberty”—“establish justice”—“insure domestic tranquility”—“provide for the common defence,” and “promote the general welfare.”

11. The Federal Government is constitutionally bound to abolish slavery in the States, for “the United States SHALL guaranty to every State in this Union, a republican form of government,” which secures “the equal rights of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management.”*

12. The Constitution confers power on the Federal Government to abolish slavery, by providing that

“Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.” (Art. I. Sec. 8, Clause 18.)

13. The exercise of this power would be no violation of “State Rights”—which do not authorize State wrongs. State rights do not include the right of doing what the Constitution forbids. Neither do the limited powers of the Federal Government restrict it from doing what the Constitution expressly requires it to do.

14. No conflict of jurisdictions can arise from a Federal abolition of slavery, for

“The Constitution and the *laws* of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof,” &c. “shall be the SUPREME LAW of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, *any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*” (Art. VI. Clause 2.)

15. Congress can abolish slavery by declaring the slaves citizens—or by naturalizing them it can make them such. It can abolish slavery by establishing such Federal Courts, and by appointing such Federal Judges as shall apply the “Habeas Corpus” to slaves.

16. The clauses of the Constitution claimed by slaveholders—even according to their own construction of them—do not prohibit nor prevent the abolition of slavery by the Federal Government. Nothing more can even they claim under them than the “apportionment of representatives” and the “rendition of fugitives” so long as slaveholding continues. The clauses do not promise the perpetuity of slavery, nor the forbearance of the Government to exercise its just powers for the protection of personal liberty, by the Habeas Corpus,—nor the guaranty, to every State in the union, of a republican form of government.

* Jefferson.

17. But the claims of slaveholders under these clauses will disappear, whenever they are construed in accordance with those just rules of interpretation which have been laid down by eminent jurists, and which—in all cases where the interests of slavery are not involved—are not only sanctioned but acted upon by the Supreme Court of the United States.

18. One of those rules is—

"Where rights are infringed, where *fundamental principles* are overthrown, where the general system of laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with *IRRESISTIBLE CLEARNESS*, to induce a Court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects." (Rule of Supreme Court. U. S. vs. Fisher and others, 2 Cranch, 390.)

By this rule, *not one* of the clauses claimed for slavery, could be applied to that subject. They all speak of "persons"—but *slaves* cannot be regarded in law as "persons."

19. All expositions of the Constitution that favor slavery take for granted the legality of slavery at the time the Constitution was formed. Aside from this assumption, no one would ever have thought of giving to any clause of the Constitution such a construction. But since the assumption is a falsehood, the expositions founded upon it fall with it.

20. All pro-slavery expositions of the Constitution originally came from slaveholders, and it is high time to bring them to the test of legal and just rules of interpretation.

RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLVED—

1. That, in the course of events, the time has now fully arrived, in which the friends of liberty in America are called upon, not only to *hate* slavery, to *condemn* slavery, and to expose and resist ecclesiastical and political *supporters* of slavery, but also, in the exercise of *their own powers*, and in connection with all whom they can persuade to unite with them, to make a grand rally for the direct, immediate, and unconditional **ABOLITION** of slavery.

2. That, inasmuch as the American people and the American Government are involved in the guilt of American slavery, and are responsible for its existence; we call on the American people and the American Government to **ABOLISH** American slavery.

3. That American slavery, being a national sin, a national disgrace, and portending national destruction, is to be repented of and to be put away by the nation.

4. That the act that is to purge and save the nation from the guilt, disgrace, and ruin of slavery, must be prompt, thorough, impartial, universal, applied directly and without delay, to all parts thereof.

5. That any thing short of this, or aside from it; any substitute in the place of it, or any device or expedient to answer the ends of it, indirectly; resorted to in the hope of a contingent or probable tendency to effect the gradual decline or future extinction of slavery—must involve not only a virtual compromise with slavery and a practical departure from correct principle, but must be accounted inadequate, in any sober estimate of results, to secure, at any period, the ends desired, besides incurring the hazards and the guilt of indefinite procrastination.

6. That the grand remedy the nation needs is to be found only in "breaking every yoke, letting the oppressed go free"—"proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," "executing justice in the morning," (i. e. timely—early) and delivering the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor."

7. That the right of the *slaves* to national

protection, under the Constitution, is as perfect as the right of any *other* portion of our citizens, northern or southern; that the duty of American citizens and of the American Government, to secure to them that protection is as sacred as the duty of protecting any other class of our citizens, including ourselves, and hence, no system of measures that does not recognize that right, and provide for the discharge of that duty, can merit the confidence of the friends of the enslaved, or afford rational hope of deliverance from that national ruin which partiality and injustice never fail to bring in their train.

8. That no plan of action for merely localizing slavery, for limiting its extent, for confining its sway to its present territory or its present victims, or for merely withdrawing the National Government, or the North, from its support, while the National Government and the North are not even asked to protect three and a half millions of native American citizens from chattelhood, can meet the wants of the times, or provide for the discharge of our responsibilities to the slaves, to our common country, to posterity, and to God.

9. That in the proposed separation of the free states from the slave states, without abolishing slavery, we witness a plan which (though otherwise intended,) presents to our minds only another phase of the expedients that have been unsuccessfully employed to localize slavery, to confine it to its present territories and victims, to withdraw the National Government and the North from the support of slavery, instead of invoking their direct aid for the overthrow of it. We cannot perceive that the plan, if carried out, could effect more than this, or that it essentially differs, in principle or in practice, from other plans for crippling instead of annihilating the monster, of leaving it alone, to die of itself, instead of dealing it its death-blow.

10. That while, for these and kindred reasons, we cannot but dissent strongly, from the measure of separation, and while we must reject it as involving the elements of gradualism and postponement, we do not attribute to its advocates that design. Their measures have grown out of their mistaken views of the Constitution, and out of their false views of civil government. We ask them to distrust expositions that have thus misled them, expositions originating with slaveholders, and join with us in understanding the Constitution to mean what it says: to join with us in using it "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty."

11. That though much still needs to be done to expose the abominations of slavery and the meanness of servility—to awaken the sympathies and arouse the consciences of the people—yet the time has now come when there is greatly needed the additional work of pointing out the appropriate and proper mode of combining the energies of the friends of freedom for the speedy and complete overthrow of American slavery.

12. That until this is done there will continue to be a waste of misdirected sympathy and of conscientious effort; the friends of the slave will continue to be divided, and to be made the dupes of designing politicians, until (as is indeed already witnessed) the defeats arising from these causes will produce discouragement, and thin the ranks of the active and steady opposers of slavery.

13. That no proposed mode of abolishing slavery can be trustworthy that does not combine an uncompromising adherence to first principles, with an intelligent adaptation to the organic laws and institutions of the country.

14. That a thorough acquaintance with the Constitution of the United States, in its bearings on the slave question, becomes indispensably necessary, therefore, at the present stage of anti-slavery progress, in order to any safe direction of the activities of the friends of the slave. A mistake, here, would be pre-eminently deplorable, and, perhaps, fatal.

15. That, for a number of years past, the

aggressions of the slave power have received more attention than the abominations of slavery and the wrongs of the enslaved—that those aggressions have been met by merely acting on the defensive and resisting the extension of slavery—while conceding the constitutional right of the slave states to maintain slavery within their own respective jurisdictions.

16. That the ill-success, the divisions, and the discouragements that have resulted from this policy thus far, should prove a warning against relying upon it in future, and should induce the study of the Constitution in the light of those great first principles which lie at the basis of all government and all law.

17. That no benefits to the enslaved should be expected from entangling alliances of their friends with any party or body of men who—at any point—betray a disposition to favor exclusive privileges, monopolies, class-legislation, or castes; or to proscribe, disfranchise, or degrade by invidious distinctions, any man or class of men, on the ground of nativity, birth-place, forms of worship, race, or complexion: or with any party whose measures or operations are determined in secret.

18. That since, in American politics, National politics are always held paramount to State politics, the political remedies of slavery must never fail to be applied to the former—and that this can be effectually done in no way but by holding the National Government responsible for the continued existence of slavery.

19. That the course of policy marked out by the slave power indicates the true course to be pursued by the friends of liberty. As the one has repudiated compromise, so the other should repudiate compromise—as the one claims and wields the national Government in support of slavery, so the other should claim and wield it for the abolition of slavery. As the one fears no "consolidation" necessary to the support of slavery, so the other should fear no "consolidation" necessary to the support of freedom. As the one knows no "state rights" in favor of liberty, so the other should know no "state rights" in favor of slavery. As the one proclaims war upon liberty north of 36° 30', so the other should proclaim war upon slavery south of 36° 30'. As the one claims the same right of National protection to slavery in the territories as in the states, so the other should claim the same right of National protection to *liberty* in the states as in the territories. As the one claims National protection for slavery in the free states, so the other should claim National protection for freedom in the slave states. As the one repudiates municipal law as the basis of slavery and appeals to the decision of natural and common law, so the other should do the same. As the one knows no politics but slavery, so the other should know no politics but freedom.

The true issue would then be joined, and the decision would be sure and speedy.

20. That in the present advanced stage of our enterprise, its vigorous, steady and wise prosecution demands the organization of a "NATIONAL ABOLITION SOCIETY" for promoting the National abolition of slavery.

21. That if it will ever be time for the North to demand a "dissolution of the Union" in reference to the slave question, on the principle of "No union with slaveholders," and with the plea that "two cannot walk together except they be agreed,"—it will *not* be until the North shall herself have first assented to, and proposed to the South a National abolition of slavery, and shall have found herself unable, in the just exercise of her moral and Constitutional powers, to gain the assent of the South, or to effectuate the peaceful abolition of slavery.

22. That the withdrawal of faithful *minorities* from corrupt parties whose action they cannot control, and whom they cannot hope to reform; furnishes no just warrant or precedent for the withdrawal of the North from the Union, so long as the North is the majority, with am-

ple Constitutional power for controlling the nation; and needing nothing but self-reformation in order to the peaceful liberation of the enslaved.

23. That a geographical separation of the North from the South would be no moral separation, on the ground of principle, so long as a majority of the North are pro-slavery, and cherish caste, and when this ceases to be the case, the occasion for separation will not long continue.

24. That a separation of the states that should separate the North, with its Doctor Adams and its Judge Kane (with their loving associates in Church and State)—from the land of Cassius M. Clay, of John G. Fee, the hundreds of thousands of oppressed whites and free people of color, and from millions of slaves, would not be, precisely, the separation of the saints from anti-Christ, nor would it promise the speedy purification of the North, or its earnest enlistment in the cause of the enslaved.

25. That we cannot hold it to be preposterous and morally wrong (as is sometimes urged) to maintain political relations with slaveholders to put down slavery, and with sheep-stealers to put down sheep-stealing—for the fundamental ideas of a social compact, of civil society, of civil government, (and especially of a republican government) involves this very thing—all the members of the community consenting that crime shall be restrained. A "dissolution of the Union" on such grounds, would equally require a disbanding of all the state governments, and the abrogation of all penal laws, including laws against man-stealing.

26. That the people of the North, being involved in the guilt of slavery, and holding the moral and political power of controlling the nation, have no moral or political right to desert their injured fellow-citizens, the slaves, and to leave them to work out their liberation, alone, any more than a majority of the owners of a slave-ship, on getting sick of their business, have a right to escape threatening dangers by deserting the ship, and leaving the slaves in their thralldom.

27. That while giving prominence, in this convention, to the political aspects of the slave question, we do not design to overlook or to thrust into the shade its moral, religious, and ecclesiastical aspects, and we earnestly urge upon all Christians, and upon all churches, ministers of religion, ecclesiastical bodies and Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, the solemn duty of pleading the cause of the oppressed, and of purifying themselves, the churches and the ministry from the taint of this great national sin.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY.

Art. I. This Society shall be called the American Abolition Society.

Art. II. Its object shall be to secure the immediate and unconditional abolition of American Slavery.

Art. III. Its leading sentiments are these:

1. Slaveholding is sinful, illegal, and unconstitutional. It has no right to be in church or in the state. It is to be excluded from the former as a sin, and prohibited by the latter as a crime. It is not sanctioned by the Bible or the Constitution, but is condemned by both.

2. It is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to suppress slaveholding throughout the United States.

3. It is the duty of the several State Governments to sustain the Federal Government in this measure, to protect their citizens, and all who touch their soil, from seizures by kidnappers or slaveholders, under the Fugitive Slave Bill, or otherwise; to make all attempts at the execution of that unconstitutional and atrocious

Act a penal offence; and to extend the right of suffrage and eligibility to office to all their citizens, irrespective of race or complexion.

4. It is the duty of our citizens, at the ballot box, to provide State and National administrations that will make these measures paramount objects of their activity; to secure a judiciary that will execute justice; to vote for such candidates for office, and for such only, as are tried friends of the enslaved, and publicly known to be earnestly engaged in promoting these measures.

5. It is the duty of Christians to hold no church relations that involve religious fellowship or ecclesiastical connection with slaveholders. It is also their duty to sustain no Missionary Society having complicity with slaveholding, nor any Tract Society, or other religious publishing Society, that does not expose and rebuke the heinous sin of slaveholding, in common with other sins.

Art. IV. The action of the Society will be directed to the furtherance of its objects, the propagation of its principles, the advocacy and promotion of its proposed public measures in all suitable ways; particularly by personal example, and by the publication and circulation, of cheap tracts, the employment of lecturers, and assisting to sustain a periodical adapted to these purposes.

Art. V. Any person approving these objects, principles and measures, and pledged to their support, by effort and example, may become a member of this Society, by assenting to its Constitution, and contributing to its funds.

Art. VI. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer, who, together with others, shall constitute an Executive Committee, five of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Art. VII. The annual meeting of the Society, for election of officers and the transaction of other appropriate business, shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall direct.

Art. VIII. No amendment shall be made in this Constitution without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present at a regular annual meeting, nor unless the proposed amendment has been submitted to a previous meeting, or to the Executive Committee in season to be published by them, (as it shall be their duty to do, if so submitted,) at the regular official notification of the meeting.

Art. IX. The Executive Committee shall be authorized to fill any vacancy which may occur in the Board of Officers.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President: Gerrit Smith, of New York.

Vice Presidents: Lewis Tappan, of New York; Saml. McFarland, of Pa.; A. B. Burdick, of R. I., and J. W. North, of Minnesota.*

Treasurer: Arthur Tappan, of New York.

Cor. Secretary: Wm. Goodell, of New York.

Executive Committee: Dr. James McCune Smith, S. S. Jocelyn, L. R. Barbour, George Whipple, Dr. Thomas Ritter, of New York city; Samuel Wilde, Kings Co., N. Y., H. D.

* Some vacancies having occurred, the Ex. Com. have supplied them, so that this list differs from that published in other papers.

Sharpe, do.; Frederick Douglass, Rochester, N. Y.; Elnathan Davis, Fitchburg, Mass.; Abram Pryne, Syracuse, N. Y.; Isaac T. Hutchins, Ct.

A P P E A L

Of the Executive Committee of the "American Abolition Society," recently organized.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Fellow laborers!

One-fourth of a century has now elapsed since the commencement of that agitation of the slavery question which, in different forms, has been extending and deepening to the present hour.—Much has been done, but much still remains to be done. Our progress forbids discouragement, yet the consummation we seek is still future. Arduous as may be the effort yet before us, the work is more than half accomplished, already. "Revolutions never go backward." There is no standing still. The aggressions of the enemy forbid this; and it is less feasible to retreat than to move onward. What it may cost to reach the goal before us, we know not, *but we know it must be reached*, and that nothing but destruction lies behind us. Going forward, we have every thing to gain—going backward, we have every thing to lose. Going forward, we have with us the prayers of the good, and of the perishing—going backward we have the reproaches of conscience and of posterity. Superhuman wisdom and power are indeed needed to guide us to the point at which we are aiming; but that wisdom and power are proffered to us, if we will but ask for them—and no power, we are assured, will ever carry us back to the dark point we first started from.

The task, at that early day, was to disclose and authenticate the facts of slavery, to prove its inherent wickedness, and the duty and safety of immediate and unconditional emancipation. For doing this, we were mobbed, villified, and threatened penal inflictions. We were called upon to expose scores of falsehoods and misrepresentations, the memory of which is now fading away—to answer an hundred objections that are now never heard—to unmask pretensions that have, long since, lost their power to deceive. We have conquered the right of free discussion, free speech, and free printing, at least in the free States. The discussion which was once silenced in the retired female prayer-meeting, now rings through the halls of the national Capitol, is heard before the Courts, is an element in popular elections, moulds the measures of Missionary Committees, and gives existence and tone to new ecclesiastical bodies. Prejudice has been softened, ignorance removed, sympathy touched, conscience awakened, and the love of justice and of liberty enkindled. The world of literature and the circles of social intercourse have been reached and moved by it. A wide and effectual door for future action, is thus opened. What has been done can never be undone, and needs not to be done over again.

Progress has brought us to new stand-points, new issues, new enterprises, new duties, new obstacles—the harbingers of new triumphs.

The only elements of defeat and discouragement that have enfeebled us, have grown out of mistakes which, in the light of experience and of successful investigation, it is now easy

to rectify. The few remaining objections and obstacles to a general abolition of American slavery, lie all in the same direction, and come under the same classification. These mistakes, these objections, these obstacles are all connected with *false views of the relation existing between slavery and the laws and institutions of our country*. So long as abolitionists believe that slavery is legal—that the Constitution recognizes its legality, makes compromises with it, and permits its existence—so long, of course, all their political efforts against it will be crippled and limited accordingly. They will not attempt what they consider unconstitutional and impossible—and what they do not attempt, they cannot be expected to achieve.

The history of their past efforts shows this. Except within the narrow limits of the Federal District and Territories, and the interdiction of the domestic slave trade, they have invoked no direct action of the Federal Government against slavery. They have not attempted its abolition in the States. For the most part they have only aimed to prevent its extension. Instead of making aggressive movements, they have acted, mainly, on the defensive. While protesting against its extension, they have conceded its right to exist in the old States. The inevitable result has been, that—so far from abolishing slavery, they have not even prevented its extension.

Another class of abolitionists, from the same mistaken views of the Constitution, have been led to demand, as a political remedy, *not* the abolition of slavery, but a dissolution of the Union, which would leave the slaveholders without political opponents, and the slaves without political defenders.

We are persuaded that neither of these modes of operation will ever abolish slavery.—And we are equally confident that a correct understanding of the Constitution and a corresponding use of it, would not only displace these abortive efforts, with all the compromises, inconsistencies, perplexities, and discouragements growing out of them, but would soon prepare the way for the peaceful abolition of slavery at the ballot-box, without disruption or revolution.

It is with these views that the AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY has been organized. It is pledged to the defence and propagation of them. It maintains that American slavery is illegal and unconstitutional, and that the legitimate powers of the Federal Government, in its different departments, are amply adequate to its overthrow. It knows no legal or Constitutional right of slavery in the States—no Constitutional or political right to protect or to permit the practice of slaveholding, for a single day. Not only as a moral duty, but as a political measure, a political necessity, it demands both of the State and National Governments the immediate and unconditional prohibition and outlawry of slavery, on every inch of soil within the United States.

It is to this work, in this distinct shape, and for these high ends, fellow laborers in the cause of liberty, that we invite you. Our stand has not been taken hastily. We have deliberately surveyed the whole ground. Our exposition of the Constitution is no novelty—no desperate expedient—no extravagance of extreme men—no intricate or abstruse speculation, that plain

people cannot be led to understand and embrace. For twelve years past it has challenged refutation. Adapted, as is the sentiment, to restore courage, and to inspire enthusiasm, it has been elaborated in the field of patient demonstration, and is daily receiving the endorsement of the coolest and clearest heads in the country. Passing events are shutting up the friends of liberty to the practical adoption of it as the only remaining avenue of hope, or basis of action. Large numbers of the ablest lawyers, in extensive districts of country, assented to it, twelve years ago. The masses of abolitionists embraced it, wherever the discussion was carried. The "common people" every where received it gladly. Its general adoption, as a standard of political action, was prevented by nothing but the impatience of a few leaders who hoped to secure majorities, and thus gain incidental advantages, (such as the limitation of slavery) by a fusion with those who held lower aims. But the experiment did not succeed. It lacked the elements and the conditions of success. It made fatal concessions. It conceded the Constitutional right of slavery in the old Slave States. From this concession of a Constitutional right to the Federal protection of slavery in *one* half of the republic, the slaveholders readily deduced the assumed Constitutional right to the same protection in the *other* half.—The logical victory was an easy one. The Fugitive Slave Bill and the Nebraska Bill are among the necessary sequences of these concessions. The merely *defensive* policy of the friends of liberty enabled the Slave Power, no longer directly assailed, to become itself the assailant. Eight years of defeat and disaster should suffice to correct the errors that have invited them.

The friends of liberty, now, have only one course left. They must terminate, (as, with God's help, they are well able to do,) the aggressions of the Slave Power, in the only way in which it can possibly be done, namely, by terminating the existence of slavery.

Say not, that the mass of the people cannot be brought to occupy this advanced ground. It is the only anti-slavery ground they ever can be brought to occupy. It is the only one that carries along with it, wherever it is distinctly announced, the conviction that something effectual can be done. It was found, in the progress of the Temperance cause, that more names could be enrolled on the tee-total pledge, than on any other. People saw its power, and felt that by clothing themselves with such power they could conquer. Just so there is now no phase of anti-slavery sentiment so well adapted to enlist effective and enterprising recruits, as that which proposes a *prompt national abolition of slavery*. Already, the numbers of those who hold the sentiments of our Society are vastly greater than is commonly supposed. Their want of organization, and their consenting to vote for candidates who hold lower views, prevents them from being known and appreciated as they otherwise would be. This state of things cannot much longer continue. The uselessness of voting for mere "non extension" is, every day, becoming more apparent. It is voting for that which, in the nature of things, is unattainable—and which, if attained, would neither relieve the slaves nor the nation.

The responses already received from all parts of the free States, assure us that the time to strike this new blow has already come. There is little reason to expect that the friends of liberty, in any slave State, will effect the abolition of slavery, without national aid. If American slavery is to be peacefully abolished, it must be done by the American nation. It is a national wrong, a national disease. The repentance and the remedy must be national.

In proportion to the means employed, and to the efforts put forth, the effects of anti-slavery agitation were never so strongly marked, as at the present time:—and in no form or phase have they been so effective, as in the one here presented. The progress of our views, within the year past, has been remarkable. But we need greater activity. We need organization. We need labor. Of course, we need funds:—funds to sustain presses and lecturers, to print books and tracts;—labor to obtain subscribers, to distribute publications—organizations in every State, county, city, town, village, parish, and hamlet. The Executive Committee, at New York, could judiciously expend fifty thousand dollars, the coming year, without superseding the local efforts that ought to be made in addition. What would be five hundred thousand dollars per annum, in comparison with the cost, in blood and treasure, of vindicating or restoring our liberties, by force of arms, if moral and political action, for want of adequate effort and wise direction, should fail of accomplishing the object?

The Executive Committee of the "American Abolition Society" intend to cover, in their plans and efforts, the entire field of anti-slavery activity, religious, moral, and ecclesiastical, as well as political, though giving prominence, at the present time, to the latter. They believe that "there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting, on the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." Under this banner, erected by the National Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia, in 1833, they still stand. And they invite the co-operation of all whose views of the Constitution permit them to labor, hopefully, and earnestly, under it, for that definite and distinct end.

We are circulating 10,000 copies of a small monthly paper, with only about one-fourth of that number of paying subscribers. We are printing successive editions of stereotyped pamphlets and tracts, the greater part of which are given gratuitously to those whom we wish to interest in the cause, but who are not sufficiently interested to pay for them, themselves. We are beginning to employ lecturers, and should have employed several, but for want of the means. All these operations we desire to increase fifty-fold. From every part of the free States we are receiving earnest applications for publications and lecturers, which, for want of funds, we are unable to supply.

At a convention in Syracuse, last June, a plan of monthly subscription was adopted and subscriptions from a few individuals obtained, to the anticipated amount of about \$3,600 per annum, or about \$300 per month. This plan we hope to see adopted throughout the country. The process is, for the friends of the cause, in

their different localities, to come together, open a subscription and appoint a local Treasurer, who shall receive the monthly payments and forward them to the Treasurer of this Society; (ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., No. 48 Beekman street, New-York.) We earnestly recommend the adoption of this measure, and for its furtherance, the organization of *Local Abolition Societies*, auxiliary to the AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY, and making stated monthly remittances to its Treasurer.

Another way of promoting the cause through the agency of this Committee is by subscribing and obtaining subscribers for our monthly paper, *the Radical Abolitionist*, according to its printed terms. (Single copies, 50 cents.) Some individuals subscribe for five copies, (\$2.00)—some for eight copies, (\$3.00)—some for 14 copies, (\$5.00)—some for 30 copies (\$10.00,) and distribute them among their neighbors, or order them to be directed to distant or neighboring friends. Or they persuade their friends to subscribe.

Another method is to send us money for the tracts, pamphlets and books, containing the desired information, to be circulated in their respective neighborhoods, or sent, as ordered, elsewhere. There are some men, with very little property, who expend from \$5 to \$20 occasionally, or annually, in this way. If their example were generally followed, the results, on the large scale, would be as apparent as they now are in certain localities. Whole townships and even counties have been won over to the support of temperance, or of abolition, by the enterprise of a few obscure but resolute men.

One reason, we presume, why the plan of monthly subscriptions has been adopted to so limited an extent, is to be found in the fact that, until quite recently, there has been no permanent organization. "The Central Abolition Committee" appointed by the Syracuse Convention, was merely provisional and temporary, awaiting the organization of "the American Abolition Society," which, on the 25th of October, was effected at Boston. The "Central Abolition Committee," (as originally designed) is now superseded by the Executive Committee of this new Society.

With every effort to combine economy with efficiency, and prudence with accomplishment, it will not be practicable for us, as a Committee, to carry forward our operations successfully, without a liberal support. In addition to the costs of paper and printing, and sustaining lecturers, we have on our hands the steady expenses of an abolition office—a place of business in a central part of the city of New York—(48 Beekman street) where is kept a depository of abolition books, pamphlets and tracts. It is also the publication office of the "Radical Abolitionist." We thus incur the expense of rent, fuel, clerk hire, &c., besides the support of an editor, acting also as Corresponding Secretary, with an increasing correspondence on his hands. Those who sympathize with our views, will see the necessity of our making appeals for such an amount of funds as may enable us to occupy, to advantage, the position we have been appointed to fill.

WILLIAM GOODELL,
Corresponding Sec'y.

Radical Abolitionist.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1855.

TAKE NOTICE, that we do not make any charges for papers sent to those who have not ordered or subscribed for them.

THE PRESENT NUMBER of our paper is necessarily occupied, chiefly, with the documentary proceedings of the Convention at Boston—the Constitution of the "American Abolition Society" then formed—the Officers—and the Appeal of the Executive Committee. Hereafter we hope to give a larger proportion of shorter articles, and greater variety.

THE APPEAL.—We earnestly invite the attention of our readers to the Appeal of the Executive Committee of the American Abolition Society, and hope it will meet with a liberal response. The views of the Committee, their reasons for entertaining them—the operations they desire to carry forward—what they are already doing—what they wish to do in addition—and the ways in which the friends of the cause who sympathize with them can assist and co-operate with them, are here stated distinctly. Please read, consider, determine, and act as conscience and benevolence may dictate.

THE CONVENTION

At Boston was, on the whole, quite as interesting and encouraging as those who called it, could reasonably anticipate—much more so, than, at one time, was feared. The time and place of holding it had been fixed upon and advertised, long before it could have been foreseen that a *National Agricultural Fair*—the greatest gathering of the kind ever known in the country—would be held in the same city, on precisely the same days! But so the event proved. The first thought, on learning the coincidence, was that the "Abolition" Convention would be smothered of course, and that the appointment had better be recalled or postponed. But there soon appeared objections to this. The Meionian Hall had been engaged at \$100. A further expense of \$25 had been incurred in advertising, and the same sum would be required to countermand the notice. There were only about twelve days to do it in, and the result would be that many who had seen the appointment would not see the counter notice. So we determined to go forward and abide the result.

The time came—the city was crowded—the streets thronged—the hotels overflowing—private boarding houses ditto—and "the fair! the grand fair!" on the lips and in the thoughts of every one. Business—politics—philanthropy—human rights—religion even, (and of course abolition) had to stand aside "just for this once," and let the grand procession of beeves and horses pass along. What boots the cry of "Humanity in the shambles! Mothers and babes for sale!" "A great shame, to be sure. But who can help it? We must see the best specimens of calves and sheep in all the nation, any how!" Thus the Boston world moved, for three days. Agriculture is a great

national interest, doubtless, and one in which humanity has a deep stake. We blame no one. But it was the last of all times and places for holding an *Abolition Convention*. Added to this, there came drenching rains and North-east winds, such rains and winds, too, as are known only in Boston. The State-house, on such occasions, always shrugs up its ungainly broad shoulders and looks grave, while its statesmen think only of rubber over-shoes, thick coats, and bright fires. "Going to the Abolition Convention this evening?" "Humph! what a question!" The unquiet shade of Sir Edmund Andros or of Calhoun, might have taken unmolested possession of the over-jaded old Commonwealth, on one of those evenings, after her having been jostled and drenched all day long, at the fair.

There was an abolition convention, nevertheless. For three successive days, morning, afternoon, and evening sessions were held. We went in at nine in the morning, and, except recesses for meals, held on till half-past nine or ten in the evening. The average attendance was, under the circumstances, very good.—Three or four hundred earnest faces, from different States, made their appearance the first morning. In the afternoon there was a marked increase, and a still larger audience in the evening. Thenceforward, the attendance and the interest kept up, and steadily increased, till the close. On the second evening, the house, which was large, was nearly full. On the third, the last evening, the rains having ceased, we removed into the large room, the Tremont Temple, which, large as it was, was very respectably occupied. There could not have been less than 1,500. Had we remained in the Meionian Hall we could not have accommodated them.

The interest was remarkably well sustained, throughout. With such topics for discussion, and such speakers as Gerrit Smith, Beriah Green, Frederick Douglass, and Abram Pryne, there could be no good reason for a lack of interest. There was great unanimity of sentiment. The tone of "Radical Abolition" in New England appeared much higher and more decided than we expected to find it. Those of us, from this State, who invited the meeting, were inclined to doubt whether, considering the untoward circumstances that have been mentioned, it would be best to proceed at that time, in organizing the Society. But when the subject came up, in the afternoon of the third day, our New England friends would not consent to a postponement. So we adopted the Constitution, and chose Officers of the Society, before adjourning. It was growing dark before we finished, and the audience began to disperse, so that an embarrassment occurred which prevented our selecting a full set of Vice Presidents from the different States, as should have been done. This defect may be supplied at the first Annual Meeting.

Our anti-slavery and "non-extension" friends who differ from us in respect to the Constitution, had been invited, through the press, to come and hold a candid and free discussion, with us, on this occasion. The invitation was repeated, personally, to some of the leading abolitionists and "Republicans" of Boston, on our arrival there. For reasons satisfactory to their own minds, no doubt, they generally ab-

sented themselves from our meetings. No one of them except Henry C. Wright, participated in the discussion. This was on the first evening, when a very pleasant and racy discussion, we might almost say a colloquy, took place between that gentleman and Gerrit Smith, on the nature of civil government, and the propriety of sustaining political relations to slaveholders. A more intense interest in a discussion we never witnessed. Gerrit Smith was never more clear, convincing, and happy, in his replies.—Floods of light were instantaneously poured into hundreds of minds. It was evident that most of the audience regarded his easy, graceful effort, a most triumphant one. Henry C. Wright, on his part, though evidently disappointed, bore himself in a manly style, and, without expressly yielding the point, confessed he understood Mr. Smith's position now, as he had never done before; and admitted that he was self-consistent. We noticed Mr. Wright in the convention, a little while, the next morning, but not afterwards. Our editorial neighbor, Oliver Johnson, of the N. A. Standard, favored us with his attendance, and made occasionally a friendly remark, without entering into the debate.

Our large supply of papers, tracts and pamphlets carried there for distribution, were eagerly received. We could have distributed thrice as many more, if we had had them. During the Convention and after its close, (while remaining a day in the city,) we were greeted with many pleasing congratulations and assurances that a very favorable and deep impression had been made. The same account reaches us by mail from different States, since our return. Seldom have we taken part in a Convention that seemed to give such general satisfaction, nor one from which we might reasonably look for greater results.

An "AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY" has now been organized, on the plan, and the only plan, we are persuaded, that can ever effect the peaceful abolition of slavery—a plan that will not fail to secure the object, unless the friends of the slave and of their country fail to give it their adequate support. We have taken a position, which, if taken by a majority of the people of the free States, will rescue the American slave, secure American liberty, and consolidate the American Union. We have an object to pray and labor for, with cheerful and confidently hope.

Nearly twenty-two years ago, we attended a National Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, at which the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized. We met in a small retired room. Our number amounted to just fifty-nine, all told. Including spectators, the audience, at times, may have amounted to three times as many. After grave deliberation we ventured to declare slavery a sin, and to affirm the duty and safety of immediate emancipation. So "radical" a declaration, at that time, was thought to require a distinct disclaimer of any intention of political interference with slavery in the States. Yet the Nation and the Church were alarmed at our temerity. Now notice the progress that has been made since that time. A Convention three or four times as large, and attracting audiences six or eight times as large, meets in the large halls of Boston, (the very di-

mensions of which belittle a common audience,) and there announces the design of a *National Abolition of Slavery*, a proclamation of outlawry against it, as a violation of the "supreme law of the land." The audiences listen to this, not with execration, but with applause. Editors print it, and clergy and statesmen read it, without hysterics, without anathemas, without hue-and-cry of "treason!" Assuredly, the world moves. Let Hunkerdom take timely warning, and move itself out of the way.

THE RELEASE OF PASSMORE WILLIAMSON is matter of public gratulation, as well it may be. When a good man suffers for righteousness' sake, the spectacle is a sublime one. And when the force of a healthy public sentiment compels the persecutor to release his victim, there may well be a feeling of triumph. There is ground of hope that the public sentiment is not wholly corrupted. It is not pretended, so far as we know, that Passmore Williamson has changed his position. It was Judge Kane who was put under a necessity of changing. At his first answer, Mr. Williamson said he did not produce the fugitives because they were not in his custody or power. At his second answer, he said the same. For the first answer he was imprisoned. On the ground of the second, he was released! Williamson won his case, by the final adjudication of his adversary. Kane lost his, by his own adjudication. The name of Kane has become a lasting reproach. The name of Williamson is immortalized. If we could have any change in the drama it would be this. Instead of making his return on the ground of want of custody or power, we would have the *next* Passmore Williamson make it, on the ground of the lawlessness and diabolism of slaveholding—the meanness and criminality of slave catching!

THOS. B. MCCORMICK.

Close on the heels of the Passmore Williamson case, comes that of the Rev. Thomas B. McCormick. He is not imprisoned, to be sure, and we trust he will not soon be. But it is not for want of official audacity in Kentucky, and of official usurpation in Indiana, pioneered, as usual, by ecclesiastical servility and proscription.

Mr. McCormick is a native of Kentucky. For twenty years he was an ordained minister of the "Cumberland Presbyterians." Six years he preached in Kentucky—a known opposer of slavery, but a Colonizationist. Fourteen years he preached in Indiana, and continued his opposition to slavery. In May, 1854, he fell under suspicion of having connived at the removal of certain slaves from Kentucky, *although he had not been in the State for several years.* The Presbytery to which he belonged, in Indiana, about this time, felt called upon to pass a resolution "that it is not expedient to discuss the subject of American slavery from the pulpit." Mr. McCormick had just preached a sermon before the Presbytery on that subject, and persisted in thus preaching afterwards. At their next meeting, in connection with two others, he introduced resolutions against slavery. Instead of adopting these, the Presbytery proceeded to "suspend him from the gospel ministry" for

"unchristian conduct," for belonging to "the under-ground railroad," and "actually engaging in assisting slaves to make their escape from slave to free territory, which, (say the Presbytery,) is contrary to the laws of the United States, and statute laws of the State of Indiana."

While this action was pending, Mr. McCormick and two others, withdrew, and formed a new ecclesiastical body. A minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church from Kentucky, was present at these proceedings. Previous to this, a reward of \$1000 had been offered, in Kentucky, by leading citizens, to any person who would decoy Mr. McCormick into Kentucky, or take him there, by force. But, immediately on the return of this Kentucky clergyman from the sittings of the Presbytery in Indiana, a Grand Jury in his neighborhood found a bill of indictment against Mr. McCormick, "for abducting and stealing slaves." On this indictment, Gov. Powell of Kentucky made a requisition on Gov. Wright of Indiana, for the arrest of Mr. McCormick, in that State, to be tried in Kentucky. Gov. Wright issues a warrant, accordingly. And so Mr. McCormick is driven from his family and from the "free State" (?) in which he owns a residence, on the bare suspicion of having shown mercy to the poor! A beautiful exemplification of the practical workings of our "glorious doctrine of State rights," which, from mere dread of "consolidation," denies to the National Government the right of "securing the blessings of liberty" to its citizens.

Mr. McCormick has spent a week in this city and vicinity, has preached and told his story to two congregations in Brooklyn, (a Presbyterian and a Congregational.) A full and documentary account of his case, prepared by him, appeared in the N. Y. Tribune of November 1. We formed a very pleasant acquaintance with him, and are happy to add that the AMERICAN ABOLITION SOCIETY has engaged his services as a Lecturer and Agent. We trust his voice will be long and effectively lifted up against slavery, the great enemy both of the free and the enslaved.

SCRAPS OF CORRESPONDENCE.

From an aged clergyman in New Hampshire.

USE OF THE CONSTITUTION.—"Enclosed is one dollar to pay for two copies of the 'Radical Abolitionist.' It is what every Christian and philanthropist should be delighted with, especially every American. Your references are timely and to the point, giving a true character to the Constitution of our Union. May God preserve that bond, and govern the Union by it, according to its true intent, as set forth in your paper."

From Illinois.

"A HEARTY WELCOME."—"Your Radical Abolitionist is received with a hearty welcome. Your premises are self-evident truths; your inferences are demonstrations. You occupy the only true ground. We must not assent for one moment to the legality of slavery, nor to that protection of it which grows out of compromises."

From a clergyman in Illinois.

"CONTINUE MY PAPER."—"I wish to continue taking your paper, for I never perused an anti-slavery paper that pleased me so well. To my judgment it is clear, convincing, and unanswerable in its arguments."

From Plymouth Co., Mass.

A VACANT NICHE FILLED.—"Your paper fills a niche which has long been vacant. I trust you will succeed in your noble endeavor, and believe the day is not far distant when it will be realized that 'all men are born equal.'"

From a clergyman in Massachusetts.

THE AXE AT THE ROOT.—"I rejoice to see a paper that lays the axe at the root—that advocates principles instead of time-serving maxims—that honors God's law and the Constitution—that is bold to say that a political institution, pregnant with all crimes, is not to be tolerated."

From Wisconsin.

RADICALISM AT THE WEST.—"I think there is no part of the United States where greater results would proceed from an outlay in Radical Abolitionism than in Wisconsin."

From Worcester Co., Mass.

LIGHT WANTED.—"If you could send good lecturers among us you would get more subscribers for your paper. We have few anti-slavery lecturers except Garrisonians, in this region, and the people are very ignorant about the stand you take."

From Indiana.

"THE VERY THING NEEDED."—"I have been a reader of your paper (the American Jubilee) for the past year, and am satisfied that it is the very thing needed in this region. The people here are mostly from the Slave States. A few of us, from Ohio, have commenced agitating the slave question among them, and we do not want them spoiled, with Free-soil or Fusion reading. We want to make thorough abolitionists of them, on the start, so that they may be of some account, in the service."

From Pennsylvania.

A PERPETUAL SUBSCRIBER.—"Count me a perpetual subscriber to the Radical Abolitionist. It just suits me. I wish there were a copy of it in every house, and the contents in every heart, in the land. The doctrines it contains are correct and full, so that no one can point out any thing like inconsistency about them."

From Wayne Co., N. Y.

THE ALTERNATIVES.—"Thanks for copies of the Radical Abolitionist. If the truths it so ably inculcates could be disseminated through the length and breadth of the land, and the public mind disabused of that superlatively ruinous lie that the U. S. Constitution sanctions and sustains American Slavery, I think we might look for its peaceful death at no distant day. Otherwise, our own liberties, if continued, will have to be purchased a second time with blood. That your little sheet may be instrumental in preserving us from the latter alternative, is the first wish of your friend."

From a Minister in Massachusetts.

LIFE AND DEATH.—"Your doctrine, I believe, is life to the Church, and death to slavery."

From Monroe Co., Mich.

THE WEST MOVING.—"There is a strong abolition sentiment in our community, and the Radical Abolitionist has a number of subscribers in our vicinity. We have recently organized a Society on the principles of the Syracuse Convention."

From a minister of the gospel in Sandusky Co. Ohio.

CONSCIENCES SEARED.—"I rejoice in the devotion to the cause of humanity, that seems to have characterized the convention at Syracuse."

"The Constitutional right of the slave states to sustain slavery has generally been conceded, so that a large part of the people have not a living consciousness of the vast sin that attaches to slavery in the sight of the Lord. It seems something like this. A banditti ravage a number of towns, and rob, outrage and murder the inhabitants. We of a neighboring town or county say to them—You must not come here. Let us alone and we will let you alone. You have a Constitutional right to plunder in certain localities, for you are banded together for that purpose. All we ask is, that you remain in the localities where you are!"

From a Minister in Massachusetts.

"RADICAL ABOLITION is the rock upon which the anti-slavery cause must rest, in order to succeed. It is gaining ground here."

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS.

We have on hand at the office of the "Radical Abolitionist," a supply of the following pamphlets and tracts.

1. "PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYRACUSE CONVENTION."—The balance of the second edition, about 600 copies, will be furnished, singly, to each person sending a three cent post office stamp, to prepay the postage. This offer is made to hasten and equalize the circulation, and accommodate those of small means. "First come—first served."
2. "THE CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ABOLISH AMERICAN SLAVERY: an expose of the position of the Abolition Society of New York city and vicinity. 18 pages, 18mo. 2 cts."
3. ABOLITION DOCUMENTS. NO. 1. PRINCIPLES AND MEASURES. Declaration of the Convention of Radical Political Abolitionists at Syracuse. 2 pages, of the size and form of Congressional Documents. Price 25 cents per hundred.
4. Spooner's "Unconstitutionality of Slavery," First and Second Part, and Defence of Fugitive Slaves, with Appendix. 294 pp. 8vo. in paper—is now for sale at this office, at 75 cents, or postage prepaid 86 cen.

WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM GOODELL.

FOR SALE BY THE AUTHOR AT THE OFFICE OF THE "RADICAL ABOLITIONIST,"

NO. 48 BECKMAN STREET, NEW YORK.

I.

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[From E. P. AYDELOTTE, D.D., late President of Woodward College Cincinnati, Ohio, and Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy in the same. Published in the Cincinnati Gazette.]

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(Letter to the author from Hon. AMASA WALKER, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State.)

Boston, Dec. 31, 1851.

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